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*Contributions from the Jāiminiya Brāhmaṇa to the history of
the Brāhmaṇa literature.*—By Professor HANNS OERTEL,
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Second Series:¹ I. Saramā and the Paṇis.

Rig-Veda x. 108, with its spirited dialogue between Saramā and the Paṇis, belongs to that class of epic hymns to which attention was first drawn by Windisch,² and which since then has been very fully treated by Oldenberg³ under the name of *ākhyāna*-hymns, and by Geldner and Pischel⁴ under the name of *itiḥāsa*-hymns. But of the frame-story which formed the setting of the dialogue we know but little. The Brhaddevatā (ed. R. Mitra, viii. 24 ff.=p. 221), to be sure, gives in twelve stanzas a brief outline of which the essential points are these: The Paṇis, a class of Asuras, living beyond the river Rasā, steal and hide Indra's cows. Brhaspati sees their hiding-place and, on his information, Indra sends Saramā in quest of the cows. Being asked by the Paṇis about her errand, she tells them that she has come in search of Indra's cows. "Never mind the cows," the Paṇis reply, "stay here as our sister" (*mā sarame gās tvam iha 'smākam svāsā bhava*). Saramā, while she rejects this offer and other gifts, declares herself willing to be bribed into silence by a draught of the milk of the hidden cows (*nā 'ham icchāmi svāsṛtvām vā dhanāni vā | pibeyām tu payas tāśām gavām yās tā nigū-hatha*). After this wish has been gratified, she again crosses the Rasā and returns to Indra. Indra asks her: "Hast thou seen the cows?" And she, at the instigation of the Asuras, replies: "No." Thereupon Indra in wrath beats her. She, terror-stricken and throwing up the milk, runs back to the Paṇis. But Indra, following the track of the milk, drives against the Paṇis, slays them, and recovers the cows (*pupracche 'ndraç ca saramāñ kaccid gā drṣṭavat̄ asi | sā ne'ti pratyuvāce 'ndram prabhāvād āsurasya*)

¹ The First Series appeared in Vol. xviii. pp. 15–48.

² *Verhandlungen d. 33. Versammlung deutscher Philologen, etc., in Gera, 1879*, p. 28.

³ ZDMG. xxxvii. 54, and especially xxxix. 52.

⁴ *Vedische Studien*, i. 243; ii. 1 and 292.

*hi | tāṁ jaghāna tadā kruddha udgirantī payas tataḥ | jagāma
sā bhayodvignā punar eva pañīn prati | payasas tasya paddhat-
yā rathena harivāhanāḥ | gatvā jaghāna ca pañīn gāś ca tāḥ
punar āharat).*

This story, as will be seen at once, cannot have formed the setting for RV. x. 108. The Saramā of the Bṛhaddevatā who betrays Indra and the gods for a mess of the stolen milk, and, beaten by Indra, shows him against her will the way to the Pañis, is utterly different from the haughty Saramā of the Rig-Veda who refuses their offer of friendship (vs. 10, *nā 'hāṁ veda bhrātr-
tvám nō svasrtvám*).

We must therefore look elsewhere for the legendary setting of RV. x. 108. Sāyaṇa does not help us ; for in his commentary on the hymn he has unfortunately been napping. Instead of following his excellent habit of supplying, by way of introduction or interwoven in his notes, the pertinent frame-story from some Brāhmaṇical source,—and whatever may be said against his exegesis, he must be given credit for wide and accurate reading in the Āruti-literature, not inferior to that of the Dutch scholars in their classics,—he is here satisfied with giving us a barren sketch of a few lines recounting that “when the cows of Brhaspati, Indra’s chaplain, had been driven off by certain Asuras called Pañis, hirelings of an Asura by the name of Vala, and had been hidden in a cave, the divine bitch, Saramā, was sent by Indra, at Brhaspati’s request, in search of the cows. And she, having crossed a large stream and having come to Vala’s stronghold, discovered these cows in their hiding place. At this juncture the Pañis, with friendly condescension, had the following conversation with her.” The barrenness of this introduction is so much the more provoking, because Sāyaṇa knew the version of the Saramā-story as given in the Cātyāyana Brāhmaṇa. Here certainly was the place to give in full this story, to which he briefly alludes in his note on RV. i. 62. 3 in these words : “Concerning this there is the following story (*ākhyāna*). The bitch of the gods was called Saramā. When the cows had been driven off by the Pañis, Indra sent this Saramā in search of these cows, even as in this world a hunter would send forth his dog in search of game gone to the woods. And this Saramā spoke thus : ‘O Indra, I will go under this condition, that thou wilt give to our offspring the food belonging to these cows, viz., milk, etc.’ He said : ‘Yes.’ And so the Cātyāyanaka says : ‘Food-eating I make

thine offspring, O Saramā, who hast found our cows (*annādinīm te sarame prajām karomi yā no gā anvavindah*).’ Then going she learned about the abode of the cows. And having learned it, she told it him. And having been informed about the cows, this Indra, slaying this Asura, regained these cows.”

If the Cātyāyana version of the legend has thus been lost to us by Sāyaṇa’s negligence, the only other Brāhmaṇical version¹ of which I know is that of the Jāminīya Brāhmaṇa (ii. 438 ff.). The wording of the fragment of the Cātyāyanaka preserved by Sāyaṇa (on RV. 1. 62. 3) and just quoted is identical with JB. ii. 440. 2; and on the basis of the material which I collected in this Journal, xviii. pp. 15–48, we are entitled to infer a close similarity between the versions of the Cāt. B. and the JB., which latter I here subjoin.² It is given à propos of the *jyotiṣṭoma*, *gostoma*, and *āyustoma*, which in the order 1. *jyotiṣṭoma*, 2. *gostoma*, 3. *āyustoma*, 4. *gostoma*, 5. *āyustoma*, 6. *jyotiṣṭoma*, are distributed over the six days (=two tridua) of the *Abhiplava*-ceremony.³

JB. ii. 438. 1 : *atha ha vāi paṇayo nāmā 'surāt devānāṁ gorakṣā āsuḥ. tābhīr ahā 'pātasthuḥ.*⁴ *tā ha rasāyām nirudhya valenā 'pi dadhuḥ.* 2. *te devā atikupya lepus⁵ suparne 'mā no gā anvicche' 'ti. tathe' 'ti. sa hā 'nuprapapāta.* 3. *tā hā 'nvājagāma rasāyām antarvalenā 'pihitāḥ.* *tasmāi hā 'nvāgatāya sarpiḥ kṣiram āmikṣām dadhī 'ty etad upanidadhuḥ.* *tasya ha suhita āsa.* *tām ho "cus suparnāi'ṣa eva te balir bhavisyat*

¹ Nor does the legend seem to appear in the post-brāhmaṇical epics ; though the finding of Sītā by Hanumat is compared by H. Jacobi (*Das Rāmāyaṇa*, 1893, p. 133) with Saramā’s search of the cows.

² These passages, by the way, conclusively prove the correctness of Oldenberg’s assumption (ZDMG. xxxix. 77): “Hierher (i. e. to the Ākhyāna-hymns) möchte ich den Dialog von Yama und Yamī (x. 10) rechnen, und ebenso den der Saramā und der Paṇis (x. 108); wenn auch die Verse dieser Gespräche eine prosaische Ergänzung, eine Erzählung dessen was dem Gespräch vorausging und was ihm nachfolgte, vielleicht nicht unbedingt verlangen, so wird doch einem Ausleger, der die Ākhyāna-Form als eine von den vedischen Poeten gern und häufig gehandhabte anerkennt, die Annahme derselben auch für diese Sūktas sich wohl empfehlen.”

³ Cf. AB. iv. 15; KB. xxi. 1 f.; TS. vii. 4. 11; Kāth. xxxiii. 3; CB. xiii. 5. 4. 3, with Eggeling’s note⁴ on CB. iv. 5. 4. 2 = SBE. xxvi. p. 403, and Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur*, p. 156.

⁴ -āñ.

⁵ pātastus.

⁶ alikupalapus.

⁷ -cchete.

etad annam mā nah pravoca iti. 4. *sa ha punar āpapāta.* tam
ho "cus suparnā 'vido gā iti. kā kīrtiç cit gavām iti ho 'vāca. 5.
eṣāi 'va kīrtir gavām iti tasya he 'ndro galam¹ pīlayam² uvāca
goṣv evā 'ham kila tavo 'suṣo mukham iti. sa ha dadhidrapsam
vā "mikṣām vo 'dāsa. so 'yam babhūva yo³ 'yam vasantā bhū-
tikah⁴ prajāyate.⁵ 6. tam ha tac chaçāpā 'çlīlajanma⁶ te jīvanam
bhūyād yo no gā anuvidya tā⁷ na prāvoca⁸ iti. tasya hāi 'tad'
grāmasya jaghanārdhe⁹ yat pāpiṣṭham taj jīvanam.

439. 1. *te saramām abruvan sarama imā nas tvām gā anvicche*
'ti. *tathe* 'ti sā hā 'nuprasasāra. sā ha rasām ājagāma.¹⁰ 2.
tām ho 'vāca plosye tvā gādhā¹¹ me bhavisyasi 'ti. plavasva me
'ti ho 'vāca na te gādhā¹¹ bhavisyāmī 'ti. 3. sā hā 'vācyā karṇām
plosyamāñā sasāra. sā he "kṣām cakre kathaṁ nu mā çunī pla-
veta hantā 'syāi gādhā¹² sānī 'ti. tām ho 'vāca mā mā plosṭhā
gādhā⁸ te bhavisyāmī 'ti. *tathe* 'ti. *tasyāi ha gādhā¹³ āsa.* sā
ha gādhēnā 'tisāra. 4. tā hā 'nvājagāma rasāyām antar-
valenā 'pihitāh. *tasyāi hā 'nvāgatāyāi tathāi 'va sarpih kṣīr-*
am āmikṣām dadhī 'ty etad upanidadhuh¹⁴ 5. sā ho 'vāca
nā 'ham etāvad apriyā devānām. avidam yad vo 'gniyām.¹⁵
ta u vāi devānām steyam kṛtvā carathāi 'tāsām vā aham
gavām padavīr asmi. na mā lāpayisyadhwē ne 'ndrasya
gā upaharisyadhwā iti. 6. sā hā 'nāciṣy upasasāha. jarāyv
apām¹⁶ tad¹⁷ viveda. tad dha cakhāda. tām hāi 'ka upajagāu
tyam iva vāi ghnatī¹⁸ saramā jāru khādatī 'ti. tad idam apy
etarhi nivacanām tyam iva vāi ghnatī saramā jāru khādhatī 'ti.
jarāyu ha sā tac cakhāda. 7. sā¹⁹ ha punar āsasāra. tām ho
"cus sarame 'vido gā iti.

440. 1. *avidam iti ho 'vāce 'mā rasāyām antarvalenā 'pihi-*
tāh. tā yathā 'manyadhvam evam ājihīrsate 'ti. 2. tām he²⁰
'ndra²¹ uvācā²² 'nnādīm are te sarame prajām karomi²³ yā no gā
anvavida iti. te hāi 'te vidarbhesu mācalās²⁴ sārameyā api ha
gārdūlān²⁵ mārayanti. 3. *te devā etam abhiplavam samabharan.*
tenā²⁶ bhyaplavanta. tad abhiplavasyā 'bhiplavatvam.²⁷

¹ *galem.* ² *upīgdayaṇt.* ³ *vayo.* ⁴ *bhūmika.*

⁵ *paṛjāyate.* ⁶ *çvīlajanma.* ⁷ *tā.* ⁸ *prāv-.* ⁹ *jayan-.*

¹⁰ After this is added the evident gloss: eṣā ha vāi sā rasā eṣā 'rvāk
samudrasya (genitive! cf. Delbr. A. S., p. 163, § 112) vāpāyatī(!).

¹¹ *gādhā.* ¹² *goyā.* ¹³ Note the masc. ¹⁴ *avoparidadhus.*

¹⁵ 'gniyān; the short ī also in the MBh., cf. Whitney, Roots, Verb-
Forms, etc., s. v. *aç*, but a correction to ī seems probable.

¹⁶ *apañs.* ¹⁷ *tām.* ¹⁸ *snatī.* ¹⁹ *sā.* ²⁰ *ha.* ²¹ *dañdra.* ²² *vā.* ²³ *-mī.*

²⁴ *māc-*. ²⁵ *lāñ.* ²⁶ *tenenā.* ²⁷ *'bhiplavam.*

The rest of the chapter is purely ritualistic. I subjoin a translation of the legend in the JB. version.

438. 1. Now the Asuras called Panis were the cowherds of the gods. They made away with them. At the Rasā they penned them up and hid them in a cave. 2. The gods, exceedingly wroth,¹ said: "O Eagle, search after these our cows." "Yes." He flew after them. 3. He came upon them hidden in a cave at the Rasā. Before him, when he had come, they placed this, viz., liquid butter, milk, clotted curds, sour curds. He was well sated with this. They said to him: "O Eagle, this shall be thy tribute, this food; do not betray us." He flew away again. They (the gods) said to him: "O Eagle, hast thou found our cows?" "What news is there about the cows?" he said. 5. "This news," said Indra, compressing the eagle's crop. "I for one am the mouth (to declare that) thou hast stayed among the cows." He (the eagle) threw up a drop of sour curds² or some clotted curds. That same became the camphor-plant³ which grows here in spring. 6. Indra thus cursed him (the eagle): "May thy sustenance be of bad origin,³ who, having found our cows, hast not informed us." Thus his sustenance is the worst that is (found) in the rear of a village.

439. 1. They said to Saramā: "O Saramā, do thou search after these our cows." "Yes." She set out after them. She came to the Rasā. 2. She said to her: "I shall swim thee (unless) thou wilt become fordable for me." "Swim me," she (the Rasā) said, "I shall not become fordable for thee." 3. She (Saramā) laying back her ears came forward in order to swim her. She (Rasā) considered: "How, indeed, should a bitch swim me? Come, I will be fordable for her." She (R.) said to her (S.): "Do not swim me; I will be fordable for thee." "Yes." There was a ford for her. By means of the ford she (S.) crossed over. 4. She came upon them (the cows) hidden within a cave at the Rasā. Before her when she had come they placed, just as (they had done) before, this, viz., liquid butter, milk, clotted curds, sour curds. 5. She said: "I am not so unfriendly to the gods. I have

¹ The emendation of the corrupt text is tentative only.

² Hemacandra's identification of *drapsa* with 'sour milk' may be the result of the abbreviation of a compound like this, of which Francke has collected examples in ZDMG. xliv. 481 and *Wiener Zeit. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.* viii. 241; cf. also Geldner *Ved. Stud.* ii. 274.

³ This emendation is a mere make-shift.

found what I may obtain of you. You, verily, have stolen from the gods. Truly of these cows I am the guide. You shall not make me prate, you shall not keep Indra's cows." She¹ . . . prevailed. The outer membrane of the waters—that she found. That she split open. One cried out against her: "As if she were to kill that one, Saramā splits open the outer-membrane."² Even now there is this reproach: "As if she were to kill that one, Saramā splits open the outer-membrane." For she did split open that membrane. 7. She came back again. They (the gods) asked her: "O Saramā, hast thou found the cows?" 440. 1. "I have found them," she said, "hidden within a cave at the Rasā. Be pleased to take them just as you thought." 2. Indra said to her: "Food-eating, wench, I make thy offspring, O Saramā, who hast found our cows." And indeed among the Vidarbhanas the *mācalas*³, descendants of Saramā, kill even tigers. 3. These gods prepared this Abhiplava-ceremony. By means of it they sailed over (*abhi+plu*). That is the etymology of the term Abhiplava.

It will be seen that chapters 439–440 above give an excellent setting for RV. x. 108. The correspondence between hymn and prose version is close even in details; the *atiskádo bhiyásā tán na āvat táthā rasáyā ataraṇ pýānsi* (RV. x. 108. 2.) is elaborated in JB. 439. 2–3; and the spirit of Saramā's reply to the offer of the Panis is alike in RV. x. 108. 10 and JB. 439. 5.

Without chapter 438, the story in the JB. version would tally exactly with the Rig-Vedic account. In both Saramā remains faithful to the gods, while in the Br̥haddevatā she betrays them. This latter motif is retained in the JB. in the introductory chapter. But it is not Saramā who appears in the JB. in the rôle of a traitor, but the eagle, who is first sent out by the gods in search of the cows. If it should seem surprising and unnatural that it should yield to the temptation of a draught of milk, we must remember that the *haṁsa* has become proverbial in Indian literature for its ability to separate the milk from the water;⁴ and, at VS.

¹ The next word is not clear to me, the reading is evidently faulty. What follows, especially the *tyam*, is also somewhat obscure.

² *jāru* = *jarāyu*, heretofore only in the compound *jāruja*, Ait. Up. v. 4.

³ If the reading is correct, it may be the name of a breed of dogs. The compounds *karimācala* and *gajamācala* are given by grammarians in the sense of 'lion.'

⁴ Professor Lanman in a paper read some years ago before the American Oriental Society, but not yet printed, has collected a large number of post-vedic passages dealing with this taste of the *haṁsa* for milk.

xix. 73, we read the same of the *kruñc* (*adbhyah ksīram vyapibat¹* *kruññāñgiraso dhiyā*, where the Commentator, apparently for this very reason, assumes a transformation of the *kruñc* into a *hañsa*, noting *kruñ hañso bhūtvā*).

I do not venture to determine the relation of these versions to each other. It might be surmised that the JB. version is an attempt to fuse the two conflicting legends of the Rig-Veda and the Brhaddevatā, keeping Saramā's character clean without sacrificing the motif of the betrayal of the gods. But such an assumption would, after all, rest on almost purely subjective grounds, and could no more be proved than the view that the Brhaddevatā-version is a condensation of the JB. form could be disproved.

II. The Ritual of Burial according to the Jāminīya Brāhmaṇa.

To W. Caland's indefatigable industry we owe a very complete digest of the ancient Hindu Ritual of Burial,² based upon the (partly unpublished) texts of thirteen schools. A glance at Caland's sources (p. iv-x) will show the scarcity of *gruti*-texts dealing with the funeral rites. As such the Jāminīya account is of some interest, while at the same time it is the oldest document of the school of the Sāmavedins for which the sūtras of Lātyāyana and Gāutama have hitherto been our earliest sources.

As in CB. the funeral rites are incidentally dealt with in the JB. in connection with a possible mortal illness of the sacrificer, his death being considered as one of many disturbances of the sacrifice which call for an expiation (*prāyaçcitti*).

JB. 1. 46. 1. *sa yado'patāpi syād yatrā'sya samām³ subhūmi-spastam⁴ syāt tad brūyād iha me 'gnim⁵ manthate 'ti "çvaro hā'gado bhavitoḥ. 2. yady u tan na yad asmāl lokāt preyād athāi'nam ādadiran. 3. nānāsthālyor agnī⁶ opya⁷ hareyur anvāhāryupacanād ulmukam. 4. ādadiran yajñapātrāni sarpir apo*

¹ On *vi* + √ *pā* see Oldenberg, GGN, 1893, p. 342.

² Die Altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche, in Verhandlungen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afd. Letterk. Deel i. No. 6. Amsterdam, 1896. In the following I refer to this paper by 'Caland' with the page added. The pitṛmedhasūtras of Bāudhāyana, Hiraṇyakeçin and Gāutama have lately been edited, also by Caland, in the *Abhandlungen f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. x. no. 3, Leipzig, 1896. For a brief summary of the burial rites see also Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur*, 1897, p. 87-97.

³ B. *sam.*

⁴ A. *sāmbhūti-*.

⁵ -*gni*; read, perhaps, -*nīn*.

⁶ B. C. -*i.*

⁷ A. *vopya*; B. *devya*; C. *tavya*.

*dārūny anustaranīm kṣuram nakhānikrntanam.*¹ 5. *te yanti yatrā 'sya samān subhūmispaṣṭam² bhavati. tad asyā 'gnīn vi-*
haranti.

"If he (the agnihotrin) should fall ill—where he may have a level [plot of ground] such as is a favorable spot, he should say : 'Here churn my fire.' It is possible, indeed, that he may recover. 2. If not, if he should depart this world, then they should take him. 3. After throwing two fires into two separate pots, they should snatch a fire-brand from the anvāhāryapacana-fire. 4. They should take the sacrificial vessels, liquid butter, water, wood, the anustaraṇī-victim, a razor, a pair of nail-scissors. 5. They go where he has a level [plot of ground] such as is a favorable spot. Thus they transfer his fires."

1. On the transfer of the fires of the sick āhitāgni in the hope that he may recover, see Caland, p. 5, §1 with note ²¹.—*subhūmi-spaṣṭam* here and in 5 offers difficulties. As second member of the compound *-sprṣṭam* might be conjectured, for if *subhūmispaṣṭam* were 'plainly a favorable spot' the order of the members of the compound ought to be reversed, as in *spaṣṭākṣara*, *spaṣṭāmbuj*. For *subhūmi* compare Caland's critical note ⁵ on Hiranyakeçin's Pitṛmedha S. p. 33³ and Gobh. GS. i. 4. 5, *subhūmiṁ kṛtvā*, with the Commentary, *subhūmiṁ ḡobhanāṁ bhūmiṁ kṛtvā*. The requirements for a *subhūmi*, of which evenness is one, are collected by Caland, p. 31, §14.

3. Cf. Caland, §11, p. 19 ff. As to the transfer of the sacrificial fires, the JB. ritual is peculiar in taking along two (the *āhavanīya* and the *gārhapatya*) fires in two separate pots, but a fire-brand from the *dakṣināagni*. According to the other texts all three fires are taken along in separate pots.—*agnī opya* as in ÇB. xi. 5. 1. 13 *tasmāi ha sthāyām opyā 'gnīm pradaduh*. Our text apparently knows nothing of the circumstantial procedure of generating the three fires within the pots (such as the ÇB. describes; Caland p. 19), but seems to imply that they were simply put into the vessels.—*yajñapātrāṇi*, etc., cf. Caland, p. 21; on the *anustaraṇī* especially, p. 22, note ²⁶.

47. 1. *athā 'syām diçi kūparām khātvā vapanti kecaçmaçrūni.*
2. *uptvā⁴ kecaçmaçrūni nakhān nikṛtanti.* 3. *nakhān nikṛtya*
nirāntram⁵ kurvanti. 4. *nirāntram⁶ kṛtvā nispurīṣam kurvanti.*
5. *nispurīṣam⁷ kṛtvā pāñsubhiḥ kūpe purīṣam abhisamvapanti.*

¹ A. *kṛta-*; B.C. *kṛtānatteñ*.

² A. C. *sambhūtisp-*; B. *sumisp-*; H. *subhūmasp-*.

³ I do not think that the parallels adduced there are weighty enough to warrant a change of the MSS. reading.

⁴ A. *u.*

⁵ A. B. *-tam.*

⁶ *-tam.*

⁷ A. *-phu-*.

*pāpmānam evā 'syā tat pracchādayanti. 6. pracchādyā¹ 'ntrāni
pratyavadāyāi 'nam āharanti. 7. tam antareṇā 'gnīn nidhāya
gārhapatya ājyām vilāpyo 'tpūya² caturgr̥hitam gr̥hītvā gatvā³
"havaniye samidvaty anvārabdhe⁴ juhoty ayām vāi tvad
asmād asi tvam. etad ayām te yonir asya yonis
tvam. pitā putrāya lokakṛj jātavedo nayāt⁵ hy
enām sukṛtām yatra loko 'smād vāi tvam ajāya-
thā esa tvaj jāyatām svāhe 'ti. 8. so 'ta āhutimayo
manomayo prāṇamayaç cakṣurmayaç crotoramayo vāñmaya
rñmaya yajurmayas sāmamayo brahmamayo hiranmayo⁶ 'mṛtas
sambhavati.*

47. 1. "Then, having in this quarter dug a hole, they cut the hair and the beard. 2. Having cut the hair and the beard, they trim the nails. 3. Having trimmed the nails, they take out the bowels. 4. Having taken out the bowels, they remove the faeces. 5. Having removed the faeces they (throw them) in the hole (and) carefully cover them with sand; thus they cover his evil. 6. Having covered them, having replaced the bowels, they take him. 7. Having deposited him between the fires, having melted the ājya-butter over the gārhapatya-fire and purified it, having taken four ladlings, going up, he makes oblation in the āhavaniya-fire which is supplied with kindling wood, while he touches (the corpse, with the words): 'He verily is of thee, of him thou art; thus he is thy womb, his womb thou art. (As) a father unto (his) son, O world-making Jātavedas, do thou lead him where the world of the righteous is; verily, from him thou wast born, let him be born of thee; svāha.' 8. He thence comes into being possessed of oblation, of mind, of breath, of sight, of hearing, of speech, of ṛc, of yajus, of sāman, of brahman, of gold, immortal."

1. ff. The cleaning and dressing of the corpse takes place at the burial-spot as with the Rāññāyanīyas and Mādhyāindinas (Caland, p. 39, § 20), not previous to the conveyance of the body to the place of burial (Caland, p. 14, § 7). This accounts for some of the implements taken along by the funeral procession (above, JB. 46. 4).

4, 5. The disemboweling of the corpse, etc., is not approved of by the other schools (Caland, p. 15) which mention it, save by the Çātyāyana Brāhmaṇa as quoted in Hiranyaakeçin's Pitṛmedhasūtra (ed. Caland) p. 37. 3, athāi 'nam udare vidārya nirāntram nispurīṣam

¹ A. -echālyā; B.C. -kṣaly-. ² A. lp- ³ B. ārabdhe. ⁴ sic.

⁵ hirañdhmāiyā; C. hirañmayoyā.

kṛtvā 'vate puriṣam avadhāya prakṣālyā pratyavadhāya sarpiṣā pūrayati 'ti cātyāyanakam. (Hiranyakeçin opposes this practice much on the same ground as the QB. xii. 5. 2. 5: *prajā hā 'sya kṣodhukā bhavati*). We thus have here another point of contact between the JB. and the Çāt.B. But it seems noteworthy that the direction of the Çāt.B. with reference to the *anas* on which the corpse is conveyed to the burial-place, viz. *kṛṣṇagavaṁ syāt* (quoted in Hiranyakeçin's Pitṛmedhasūtra, p. 35. 6, *anasā vahantī 'ty eke kṛṣṇagavaṁ syād iti cātyāyanakam*) has no parallel in the JB.¹

7. Cf. Bāudhāyana's Pitṛmedhasūtra, p. 4, 6 *athāi 'nam ādāyā 'ntarvedi prākçirasam āśādayanty atra havir āśādyata ity atha gārhapatya ājyam vilāpyo 'tpūya sruci catuṛgrhitam gṛhitvā pretasya dakṣinām bāhum anvārabhya juhoti.* Cf. on the whole, Caland, p. 13.—The words uttered during the oblation are not RV. x. 14. 1. which Bāudhāyana prescribes (p. 4, 10) but almost identical with the mantras Çāñkh. CS. iv. 14. 36, *ayaṁ vāi tvam asmād ayam te yonis tvam asya yonih. jātavedo vahasvāi 'nam sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ. ayaṁ vāi tvam ajanayad ayam tvad adhijāyatām.* asāu svāha, and TĀ. vi. 1. 24, *ayaṁ vāi tvam asmād adhi tvam etad ayaṁ vāi tad asya yonir asi. vāiçvānarāḥ putraḥ pitre lokakṛj jātavedo vahe 'mām sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ.* Cf. also TĀ. vi. 2. 3 *asmāt tvam adhi jāto 'si tvad ayaṁ jāyatām punah. agnaye vāiçvānarāya svargāya lokāya svāha;* TĀ. vi. 4. 12, *asmāt tvam adhi jāto 'sy ayaṁ tvad adhi jāyatām. agnaye v. s. l. s.; Kāuç. S. 81. 30, asmād vāi tvam ajāyathā ayaṁ tvad adhi jāyatām. asāu svāha; Āçv. G.S. iv. 3. 27, asmād vāi tvam ajāyathā ayaṁ tvad adhi jāyatām. asāu svargāya lokāya svāha.* But this mantra, among the Tāittiriyas, follows the *upoṣaṇa*, Caland, p. 62, § 32 a with note²³⁷. Here also belongs JB. i. 2. (second half) *tad yadā vāi mana utkrāmati yadā prāṇo yadā cakṣur yadā çrotramān yadā vāg etān evā 'gnī abhigacchati. athā 'sye 'dam çarīram eteṣv evā 'gnīṣv anupravidhyanty asmād vāi tvam ajāyathā esa tvaj jāyatām svāhe 'ti. so 'ta āhutimayo manomayaḥ prāṇamayaç cakṣurmayaç çrotramayo vāñmaya rāñmaya yajurmaya sāmamayo brahmamayo hirañmayo 'mr̥tas saṁbhavati. amṛtā hāi 'vā 'sya prāṇā bhavanty amṛtām çarīram idān kurute. so 'mr̥tatvām ga-cchati ya evāñ vidvān agnihotram juhoti.*

JB. i. 48. 1. *athāi 'tām citām² cīnvanti. tasyām enam ādadhati.* 2. *tasya nāsikayos sruvāu nidadhāyād dakṣināhaste juhūn*

¹ Similarly the quotation from the Çāt.B. given by Lāt. CS. i. 3. 24 with reference to the *subrahmanīya*-ceremony is without a parallel in the JB. (cf. JAOS. xviii. 34). But I am doubtful whether by Çātyāyanaka the Brāhmaṇa is necessarily meant. It is quite possible that the term includes the Sūtras. Some quotations from the Çātyāyanaka in the Upagranthasūtra and in Bāudhāyana's G.S., to which Caland was kind enough to direct my attention, have a distinct sūtra-tone.

² A. cīntām.

savya upabhṛtam urasi dhruvām mukhe ‘gnihotrahavanīm
çīrṣataç camasam ilopavahanam karṇayoḥ prāçitraharane
udare pātrīm¹ samavattadhānīm² āñdayor dr̄ṣadupale siçne
çamyām upasthe krṣṇājinam anupr̄sthām³ sphyaṁ pār̄gvayor
musale ca çurpe ca patta ulūkhalam. 3. paricistāni yajñapā-
trāny upari dadhati. 4. apo mr̄ṇmayāny abhyavaharantī⁴
dadaty evā ‘yasmayāni. 5. athāi ‘nam⁵ sarpisā ‘bhyutpūrayanti
yajñapātreṣu sarpis ḥsiñcanti.

“1. Now they construct the funeral pyre. On it they place him. 2. He should put down on his nostrils two sruva-lades; in the right hand the juhū-ladle; in the left (hand) the upabhṛt-ladle; on the chest the dhruvā-ladle; on the mouth the agnihotra-ladle; on the head the camasa-beaker for carrying the ilā; on the ears the two prāçitra-vessels; on the abdomen the vessel containing the cuttings; on the testicles the upper and the lower mill-stones; on the penis the wedge; on the pudenda the skin of the black antelope; behind the back the wooden sword; on the ribs two pestles and two winnowing baskets; at the feet the mortar. 3. The other sacrificial vessels he puts on top. 4. They throw the earthen (vessels) into the water, while they give away the iron (vessels). 5. Then they fill him up with liquid butter. They pour liquid butter into the sacrificial vessels.”

1. The directions for the construction of the funeral pyre, etc., are here omitted. Cf. Caland, p. 35 ff. § 17. The text passes on at once to the pātracayana (Caland, p. 49, § 27). The similarities and differences in the distribution of the implements over the body will be seen from the following tables.⁶

1. ARRANGED ACCORDING TO PARTS OF BODY.

Head (çirasi, çīrṣatah, çirastah, çırşan): kapālāni A, H, B, Ç; kapālāni samoptadhdānām ca camasam L; kapālāni samavattadhānām ca camasam G; camasam pranītāpranayanam kapālāni cāi ‘ke Kāt; pranītāpranayanam camasam B; camasam pranītāpranayanam ÇB; camasam ilopavahanam J; idācamasam K; upasādanīyam kūrcam B; upasādanīyam idāpātram ca H.

Hairtufts (çikhāyām): vedam H.

¹ -im. ² A. -ttayā-. ³ B. -ṣṭam; C. -syam. ⁴ A. abhyahar-. ⁵ A. om.

⁶ Abbreviations : A = Āçv. GS.; B = Bāudhāyanā's pitṛmedhasūtra; Ç = Çāñkh. ÇS.; ÇB = Çatap. Br.; G = Gāutama's pitṛmedhasūtra; H = Hiranyakeçin's pitṛmedhasūtra; Kāt = Kātyāyanā's ÇS.; L = Lāty. ÇS.; J = Jāiminiya Br. A few other texts referred to by Caland were not accessible to me.

- Forehead (*lalāṭe*): *ekakapālam* H, B; *prācitraharaṇam* L, K, G.
- Eyes (*akṣṇoh*): *hiranyaçakalāv ājyasaṛvāv vā* H.
- Ears (*karṇayoh*): *prācitraharaṇe* J, ÇB, Kāt; *prācitraharaṇe bhittvā cāi 'kam* A, H; *prācitraharaṇam bhittvā B*; *prācitraharaṇam [karṇe daksine] pranītāpṛṇayaṇam [karṇe savye] Ç*; *sruvāv [nāśikayor vā]* G.
- Nostrils (*nāśikayoh*): *sruvāv* J, ÇB, Kāt, Ç, L, H, B; [*karṇayor vā*] G; *sruvāv bhittvā cāi 'kam A*; *sruvam* K.
- Mouth (*mukhe*): *agnihotraḥavaṇīm* J, ÇB, Kāt, L, G, H, B, K.
- Teeth (*datsu*): *grāvṇaḥ* A, Ç; [*yadi grāvāṇo bhavanti*] H.
- Jaws (*hanvoh*): *ulūkhalamusale* H.
- Throat (*kaṇṭhe*): *agnihotraḥavaṇīm* Ç; *dhruvām* K.
- Trunk
- Shoulders (*añse*): [*daksiṇe*] *mekṣaṇam* [*savye*] *pīṣṭodvapanīm* B.¹
- Chest (*urasi*): *dhruvām* J, ÇB, Kāt, L, Ç, A, G; *dhruvām aranī ca* H, B; *puroḍācam* K.
- Waist (*madhye*): *camasam* H.
- Ribs (*pārçvayoh*): *çūrpe* ÇB, Kāt; *çūrpe chittvā vāi 'kam* H, B²; *musale ca çūrpe ca* J; *pātrīyā* Ç; *sphyopaveṣāu* G: [*pārçve daksine*] *sphyam* A, K, Ç; [*pārçve savye*] *upaveṣam* K; *kṛṣṇājinam* Ç; *agnihotraḥavaṇīm* A.
- Groin (*vañkeṣṇayoh*): *sāmnāyyakumbhyāu* B, [*yadi sañnayati*] H.
- Navel (*nābhīyām*): *ājyasthālīm* H.
- Abdomen (*udare*): *pātrīm* L, K, G; *pātrīm samavattadhānaṁ ca camasam* A, *pātrīm samavattadhānīm* J, ÇB, Kāt; *saṁava-ttadhānīm* Ç; *pīṣṭasāmyavānīm pātrīm* H; *dārupātrīm* B; [*ku kṣyoḥ*]³ *camasāu sāmnāyyāpidhānīm ce 'dopahavanam ca* B.
- Pudenda (*upasthe*): *kṛṣṇājinam* J, L, G; *çamyām* A; *aranī* Ç.
- Penis (*cīcne*): *çamyām* J, ÇB, Kāt; *vṛṣāravām* *çamyām ca* H, B.
- Scrotum (*āṇdayoh*, *vṛṣāṇayoh*): *aranī* Kāt; *dṛṣadupale* J, H, B; [*āṇdayor ante*] *vṛṣāravāv anvag ulūkhalam* ca *musalaṁ* ca ÇB.
- Hand (*haste, pānau daksiṇe*): *juhūm* J, B, K, A, G, Ç, L; *ju-hūm* *sphyam* ÇB; *juhūm . . . sphyam* ca Kāt; *sphyam juhūm* ca H.
- (*haste, pañāu savye*): *upabhr̥tam* J, K, A, H, B, ÇB, Kāt, L, Ç, G.
- Leg
- Thighs (*çronyoyoh*): *çakaṭam* K; *anvāhāryasthālīm carusthālīm* ca B.

¹ The Mānavas, according to Caland, place the *juhū* and *upabhr̥t* on both shoulders.

² Read *çūrpe* for *çūrpam* in Bāudh. p. 10, 16.

³ The Mānavas, according to Caland, place here the *puroḍāça* (-*pātrī*).

Loins (*ūrvoḥ*): *araṇī* A; *ulūkhalamusale* B; [*asṭhīvatoṣ ca*] Ç.
(*antareṇo "rū*): *anyāni yajñapātrāṇī* ÇB, Kāt, K.
(*antarā, antareṇa sakthīnī*): *avaçiṣṭāni* H; *avaçiṣṭāni pātrāṇī* B; *çamyādṛṣadupale yac ca nā "deṣ(!)yāmaḥ¹* L, G.
(*anusaktham, anusakthī*): *musalam* L, G.
Upper leg (*ukhasya dakṣinasya dakṣinataḥ*): *ulūkhalam* L, G.
Knee-cap (*asṭhīvatoḥ*): *ulūkhalamusalam* K; *ulūkhalamusale [ūrvoṣ ca]* Ç.
Lower leg (*jaṅghayoh*): *ulūkhalamusale* A.
Feet (*pattah, pādayoh*): *ulūkhalam* J; *agnihotrapātrāṇī* Ç; *upāvaharaṇīyam kūrcam* H; *upāvaharaṇīyam* B; *agnihotrasthālīm ajiyasthālīm ca* B; *çūrpam* L, K; *çurpe bhittvā cāi 'kam* A; *çakaçaçurpe* G; *çurpaçakate* Ç.
Back (*anupṛṣṭham, prṛṣṭhe*): *sphyam* J, B; *kṛṣṇājinam . . . pra-stīrya . . . tasminn enam . . . nipadya* ÇB.
Indefinite: *upari pariçiṣṭāni yajñapātrāṇī (dadhati)* J.

2. ARRANGED ACCORDING TO IMPLEMENTS.

agnihotrahavarāṇīm: *kanṭhe* Ç; *pārṣve savye* A; *mukhe* J, ÇB, Kāt, L, G, H, B, K.
agnihotrapātrāṇī: *pattah* Ç.
agnihotrasthālīm: *pādayoh* B.
anvāhāryasthālīm: *çronyoḥ* B.
araṇī: *urasi* B, H; *ūrvoḥ* A; *vṛṣaṇayoḥ* Kāt; *upasthe* Ç.
avaçiṣṭāni, pariçiṣṭāni, anyāni yajñapātrāṇī; *yac ca nā "deṣ(!)yāmaḥ¹*: *antareṇa sakthīnī* L, G, B; *antarā sakthīnī* H; *antareṇo "rū* ÇB, Kāt, K; *upari* J.
ājyasthālīm: *pādayoh* B; *nābhyaṁ* H.
ājyasruvāu: *akṣṇoḥ* H, B.
iḍācamasam²: *çirasi* K.
iḍāpātram: *çirastaḥ* H.
iḍopavahanam (camasam): *çirṣataḥ* J; *kukṣyoḥ* B.
upabhr̥tam: *haste savye* J, H, B, Kāt, K, A; *pāṇāu savye* ÇB, Ç, G, L.³
upala v. dṛṣadupale.
upaveṣam: *pārṣve savye* K. Cf. *sphyopavesāu*: *pārṣvayoh* G.
upasādanīyam (kūrcam): *çirastaḥ* B, H.
upāvaharaṇīyam (kūrcam): *pattah* B, H.
ulūkhalam: *pattah* J; *ukhasya dakṣinasya dakṣinataḥ* L, G.
ulūkhalamusale: *jaṅghayoh* A; *asṭhīvatoḥ* K; *ūrvor asṭhīvatoṣ ca* Ç; *ūrvoḥ* B; *hanvoḥ* H; *anvag āṇḍayor ante* ÇB.
ekakapālam⁴: *lalāṭe* H, B.

¹ Cf. Caland's note on Gāutama, p. 90. ² = *iḍāpātri*, Caland, p. 51.

³ The Mānavas, according to Caland, place the *juhū* and *upabhr̥t* on both shoulders.

⁴ Cf. Caland, p. 58, note¹⁹⁶.

kapālāni: *cirasi* H, G, L, Ç, B, A; [*kapālāni cāi 'ke*] Kāt. Cf. also *ekakapāla*.
kumbhī, v. *sāmnāyyakumbhyāu*.
kūreca, v. *upasādanīya* and *upāvaharaṇīya*.
kṛṣṇājīnam: *upasthe* J, L, G; . . . *prastiryā* . . . *tasminn enam* . . . *nipadya* ÇB; *pārçve savye* Ç.
grāvṇāḥ: *datsu* A, Ç, [*yadi grāvāno bhavanti*] H.
camasam: *madhye* H. Cf. also *idācamasa*, *idopavahana*, *pranītā-pranayana*, *samavattadhāna*, *samoptadadhānana*.
carusthālim: *çronyoh* B.
juhūm: *haste dakṣiṇe* J, H, K, A, B, Kāt; *pāñāu daksine* ÇB, L, Ç, G¹.
*dārūpātrīm*²: *udare* B.
drṣadupale: *āñdayoh* J, B, H; *antareṇa sakthinī* L, G; *amāputraḥ kurvīta* A. K.³
dhruvām: *urasi* J, ÇB, Kāt, G, L, Ç, A, B, H; *kaṇṭhe* K.
*pātrīm*⁴: *udare* A, K, L, G.
*pātryāu*⁵: *pārçvayoh* Ç. Cf. also *agnihotrapātrāṇi*, *idāpātra*, *dārūpātrī*, *piṣṭasamāyavanī*, *piṣṭodvapanī*, *puroḍāça*, *sama-vattadhānī*.
*piṣṭasamāyavanīm*⁶ (*pātrīm*): *udare* H.
*piṣṭodvapanīm*⁷: *añse savye* B.
*puroḍācam*⁸: *urasi* K.⁵
pranītā-pranayanaṁ (*camasam*): *cīrṣan* ÇB; *cirasi* Kāt; *cira-stak* B; *karne savye* Ç.
prāçitraharayaṁ: [*bhittvā*] *karṇayoh* B; *karṇe dakṣiṇe* Ç; *lalāte* L, G, K⁶.
prāçitraharane: *karṇayoh* J, ÇB, Kāt; [*bhittvā cāi 'kam*] H.
musalam: *anusaktham* L; *anusakthi* G.
musale: *pārçvayoh* J. Cf. also *ulūkhalamusale*.
mekṣaṇam: *añse dakṣiṇe* B.
*vṛṣāravam*⁹: *ciçne* H, B.
vṛṣāravāu: *āñdayor ante* ÇB.
vedam: *çikhāyām* H.⁸
çakaṭam: *çronyoh* K; *pādayoh* G. Cf. also *çürpaçakaṭe*.
çakaṭaçürpe: *padayoh* G.
çamyām: *ciçne* J, B, H, Kāt; *çīgnasyā 'nte* ÇB; *upasthe* A; *antareṇa sakthinī* L, G.
çürpam: *pādayoh* Ç, L, K.
çürpe: *pārçvayoh* ÇB, Kāt, J, [*chittvā vāi 'kam*] B; *pādayoh* [*bhittvā cāi 'kam*] A. Cf. also *çakaṭaçürpe*.

¹ The Mānavas, according to Caland, place the *juhū* and *upabhr̥t* on both shoulders.

² = *idāpātrī*, Caland, p. 51.

³ Cf. Caland, p. 51f.

⁴ Cf. the discussion of these vessels in Caland, p. 50.

⁵ The Mānavas, according to Caland, *kuksyoh*.

⁶ So also, according to Caland, the Mānavas.

⁷ Cf. Caland, p. 52. ⁸ The Mānavas, according to Caland, on the head.

cūrpaçakaṭe : *pādayoḥ* Ç.

*samavattadhānīm*¹ (*pātrīm*) : *udare* J, ÇB, Kāt, Ç.²

*samavattadhānam*³ (*camasam*) : *udare* A ; *cirasi* G.

samoptadhānanam (*camasam*) : *cirasi* L.

sāmnāyyakumbhyāu : *vañkṣayayoḥ* B, H.⁴

sāmnāyyāpidhanīm : *kukṣyoḥ* B.

sphyam : *anupṛṣṭham* J ; *prṣṭhe* B ; *pāṇḍu dakṣine* ÇB ; *dakṣinā-haste* Kāt ; *haste dakṣine* H ; *pārṣve dakṣine* A, K, Ç. Cf. also *sphyopaveṣāu* under *upaveṣā*.

sthālī, v. *agnihotrasthālī*, *anvāhāryasthālī*, *ājyasthālī*, *carusthālī*.

sruvam : *nāśikayoḥ* K.

sruvāu : *nāśikayoḥ karṇayor vā* G ; *nāśikayoḥ* J, ÇB, Kāt, L, B, H, C, [bhittvā cāi 'kam] A. Cf. also *ājyasruvāu*.

The differences between the JB. and the other younger Sāman-texts are noteworthy, see under *avaçīṣṭāni*, *ulūkhalam*, *drṣadupale*, *prācītraharaṇe* and -*nam*, *musale*, *çamyām*, *cūrpe* with *cūrpam* and *çakaṭaçūrpe*, *samavattadhānīm* and -*nam*, *sphyam* and *sphyopaveṣāu*.

3. Cf. Caland p. 52 in fin.

JB. 1. 49. 1. *athāi 'tām anustaraṇīm ānayanti*. 2. *tām prokṣ-ya trīr apasalamī*⁵ *paryānāyya kūṭe*⁶ *hanyāt*.⁷ *pradakṣinām hāi 'ke paryānayanti*.⁸ *tad u tathā nū kuryāt*. 3. *tasyāi vapām*⁹ *utkhidya cīrṣṇī*¹⁰ *parivyayanti*¹¹ *hastayor matasñī*¹² *hṛdaye hṛdayam bāhvor bāhū*.¹³ *yathāngam eve 'tarāṇy aṅgāni vicinvanti*.¹⁴ 4. *athāi 'nam carmaṇā prorṇvanti svayā tanvā sa mṛdhyas ve 'ti*. 5. *sāṁstīryo*¹⁵ 'pādīpayanti. 6. *sa tathāi 'va cikirṣed yathāi 'nam āhavanīyah prathamo gacchet tad enām devalokah pratyāgacchaty atha yathā 'nvāhāryapacanas tad enām pitrlokaḥ pratyāgacchaty atha yathā gārhapatiyas tathā 'smīn*¹⁶ *loke prajayā ca*¹⁷ *paçubhiç ca pratitisthāti*.

7. *tasyo 'pādīptasya dhūma eva carīram dhunoti*.¹⁸ *sa yad dhunoti*¹⁹ *tasmād dhunah*.¹⁸ *dhuno*¹⁸ *ha vāi nāmāi 'ṣah*. *tām dhūma iti parokṣam ācakṣate parokṣenāi*¹⁹ 'va. *parokṣapriyā iwa hi vāi*²⁰ *devāḥ*. 8. *dhūmād vāi rātrīm apyeti rātriyā ahar ahno*²¹ *apocchantīpaksam*²² *apocchantīpaksād*²³ *āpūryamānapakṣam*

¹ = *īdāpātri*, Caland, p. 51. ² So also the Mānavas, according to Caland.

³ = *īdāpātri*, Caland, p. 51.

⁴ The Mānavas, according to Caland, on the abdomen.

⁵ B.C. -*līm*. ⁶ A. -*to*. ⁷ A. *nahanyām*. ⁸ A. *payā-*. ⁹ A. *vacām*.

¹⁰ -*ṣī*. ¹¹ *parivay-*. ¹² B. *mṛtasñīm*; C. *matasti*. ¹³ B.C. *bāhma*.

¹⁴ A. *cinvati*. ¹⁵ A. *sāṁstīyo*. ¹⁶ A. *gnim asmin*. ¹⁷ A. om.

¹⁸ All MSS. have short *u*. ¹⁹ A.B. -*e*. ²⁰ A.B. om. ²¹ B.C. *añho*.

²² A. *porcantīpaksam*; B.C. *pocchantīpaksam*.

²³ A. *evorcantīcakṣād*; B.C. *apocchantīcakṣād*.

āpūryamānapaksān māsam. te atra māse¹ çarīram cā "suç ca saṅgacchāte. 9. *tam² ha³ rtūnām⁴ eko yaḥ kūṭahasto raç minā pṛtyavetya pṛcchati ko 'si. puruṣe 'ti.*

50. 1. *tam pratibrūyād*

vicakṣaṇād ṛtavo reta ābhṛtam

ardhamāsyam⁵ prasutāt pitryāvata

iti. yad ado⁶ vicakṣaṇān somām rājānam juhvati tat tat.
tam mā pum̄si⁷ kartary erayadhvam⁸

iti. pum̄si⁷ hy enam⁹ etat kartary erayante.¹⁰
pum̄saḥ kartur¹¹ mātary āsiṣikta¹²

iti. mātari hy enam āsiñcati.

sa upajāya¹³ upajāyamānas
trayodaçena dvādaçopamāsa

iti. esa trayodaço ya esa tapati.

sām tad vide. prati tad vide. hanta ma¹⁴ ṛtavo 'mṛtam¹⁵ āna-yadhwām dvādaçatrayodaçena pitrā tayā¹⁶ mātrā¹⁶ tayā çrad-dhayā tenā 'nnādyena tena satyena. ahar me pitā¹⁷ rātrir¹⁸ mātā. satyam asmi.¹⁹ tam ma ṛtavo 'mṛtam²⁰ ānayadhvam²¹

iti. 2. tam ha rtava ānayante. yathā vidvān avidvānsām²²
yathā jānann²³ ajānāntam²⁴ evām hāi 'nam²⁵ ṛtava²⁶ ānayante.²⁷
tam hā 'tyarjayante.²⁸ 3. sa hāi 'sa na manusyo ya evām veda devānām ha vāi sa eko ya evānvit. 4. tam ha²⁹ manojavasah
pitaraç ca pitāmahāç ca pratyāgacchanti tatah kim na āhārsir

iti. 5. tān pratibrūyād yat kim ca puṇyam³⁰ akaram³¹ tad yuṣ-

mākam iti. tasya putrā dāyam upayanti pitaras sādhukṛtyām³²

dvisantah pāpakṛtyām. sa evam etat tredhā³³ vibhajyāi 'tasya

salokatām apyeti ya esa tapati.

"1. Then they bring that anustarañi-victim. 2. After sprinkling it and having caused it to be led around three times to the left, he should deal it a blow against the forehead. Some indeed lead it around to the right. But let him not do so. 3. Cutting out its omentum they envelop his head with it; (they place) the kid-

¹ A. -o. ² A.C. *tam*. ³ A.C. *aha*. ⁴ A. *ānām*; B.C. *rītrānām*.

⁵ All MSS. *-māsam*; and *prasutān*. ⁶ A. *edā*. ⁷ -*si*. ⁸ B.C. *or-*.

⁹ A. inserts *iti m.* ¹⁰ A. *orayanti*. ¹¹ *karttar*.

¹² All MSS. have this sandhi.

¹³ All MSS. have the sandhi *upajāyo 'paj-*.

¹⁴ A. *mām*. ¹⁵ *mṛta*. ¹⁶ A. *om.* ¹⁷ A. *pīkā*. ¹⁸ A. *rātrīm*.

¹⁹ B.C. repeat *satyam asmi*. ²⁰ A. *mṛta*. ²¹ A. *āra-*. ²² *vidvānsa*.

²³ A. *om.*; B.C. *jānañ*. ²⁴ *jānāntam..* ²⁵ C. *'va*. ²⁶ A. *om.*

²⁷ A. *-ta*. ²⁸ *tyāñjay-*. ²⁹ A. *aha*; C. *ubha*; B. *maha*. ³⁰ B.C. *-m*.

³¹ B.C. *kar-*. ³² A. *-krītvā*; B.C. *-krītyā*. ³³ A. *tedhā*.

neys in his hands, the heart on his heart, the fore-legs on his arms. They severally arrange the other limbs on his corresponding limbs. 4. Then they cover him with the skin saying : ‘Thrive by thine own body.’ 5. Having spread all (the parts of the anustaraṇī) they set (the pyre) on fire. 6. He should endeavor to do it in this way : If the āhavaniya-fire should reach him first, then the world of the gods approaches him ; and if the anvāhārya-pacana-fire, then the world of the Fathers approaches him ; and if the gārhapatiya-fire then he stands firm in this world with progeny and cattle.

7. Of him being set on fire the smoke shakes (off) the body. Because it shakes therefore it is called *dhuna*. For it is *dhuna* by name. Mystically they call it *dhūma*, by a mystic (appellation). For the gods are fond of the mystic. 8. From the smoke it goes unto night, from night to day, from day to the dark fortnights, from the dark fortnights to the bright fortnights, from the bright fortnights to the month. There, in the month, both body and life-spirit come together. 9. Him one of the seasons, which has a hammer in its hand, having descended by means of a ray, asks : ‘Who art thou, O man ?’

50. He should make answer : ‘O Seasons, from the illustrious one seed hath been brought hither, the half-monthly (seed) from the begotten one, from him who is connected with the fathers.’ Because they offer here illustrious king Soma, that (is meant) by it. ‘Make me as such arise in a man as the maker.’ For they thus make him arise in a man as the maker. ‘From the man as the maker pour (me) into the mother.’ For he (the man) pours him into the mother. ‘As such am I reborn, being born anew, the intercalary month of the twelve, through the thirteenfold one.’ He is the thirteenfold one who burns here. ‘Of this am I aware; this have I ascertained. Come, O Seasons, lead me, the immortal, thither, through the twelvefold (and) thirteenfold father, through this mother, through this faith,¹ through this food-eating, through this truth. Day is my father; night is my mother. I am truth. As such, O Seasons, lead me, the immortal one, thither. 2. Him the seasons lead thither. As one who knows (leads) him who does not know, as one who understands him who does not understand, even so the seasons lead him

¹ ‘Faith’ in James’ sense of the word (ii. 14–18); cf. Oldenberg, ZDMG. I. 448 ff.

thither. They bring him across. 3. Not a man is he who knows thus; verily one of the gods is he who thus knows. 4. Manoja-vas' Fathers and Grand-sires come to meet him saying: 'What hast thou brought for us from hence?' 5. To them he should make answer: 'Whatever good deed I have done that is yours.' Such an one's sons enter upon the inheritance, the Fathers upon his good actions, the enemies upon his evil deeds. Having thus made this threefold division, he enters into the same world with him who burns here."

1. On the leading around and the slaughter of the *anustaraṇī* see Caland, p. 40f, §§ 22, 23 and p. 54, § 28. 2. *apasalam* seems to be *āπ. λεγ.*

2. The meaning of *kūṭa* in *kūṭahasta* (below, 9.) is certainly 'hammer'; cf. Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* i. 138f; v. Bradke, *ZDMG.* xlvi. 458; Bloomfield, *ibid.* xlviii. 546; v. Bradke, *KZ.* xxxiv. 156f. In order to translate it so here also a change to *kūṭena* (which Professor Bloomfield suggested to me) would be necessary. I have hesitated to emend thus, because I yet feel quite uncertain whether *kūṭa* always means 'hammer' and not also 'forehead.'¹ Without entering into the question in detail, I venture to call attention to the fact that the passage CB. iii. 8. 1. 15, *tasya na kūṭena pragh-nanti mānuṣam hi tan no eva paçcāt karṇam pitṛdevatyam hi tat*, offers difficulties whichever of the two meanings may be chosen. If we translate 'forehead' (with Sāyaṇa and Eggeling), the instrumental instead of the locative is very offensive. If, on the other hand, we translate 'hammer,' the evident contrast between *kūṭena* and *paçcāt karṇam* is destroyed. An emendation of *kūṭena* to *kūṭe* would make the passage simple but beg the question.

3. *matasnī*, the stem elsewhere is *matasna*; the term is evidently synonymous with *vṛkkāu*, cf. Weber, *Indische Stud.*, ix. 248. Sāyaṇa on RV. x. 163. 3 agrees with this view.

4. The formula *svayā tanvā* etc. does not appear to occur elsewhere. Professor Bloomfield, who was good enough to search for parallel passages among the slips of his MS. concordance, writes me that the formula at TS. iv. 3. 4. 1 (also in VS, TB, MS, and ĀpCS) *svāsasthā tanuvā sám viçasva* is the closest parallel to it.

5. For this augurium cf. Caland, p. 58, § 30, where the other passages are grouped together; the *tad enaṁ devalokah pratyāgacchati* of our text supports Caland's (p. 59 note²³⁰) rendering of Āçv. GS. iv. 4. 2, *svargaloka enaṁ prāpad* (*svargaloka* for *-lokas*, not *-loke*). The *prajayā ca paçubhiç ca pratitiṣṭhati* is not found in any of the parallel passages and seems inappropriate.

The ritualistic part ends here; the rest is upaniṣad-like.

7. *vdhū* in the sense of 'to shake off, to free one's self from,' is elsewhere used in the middle, e. g. AB. iv. 24. 1 *çarīram eva*

¹ Perhaps *kūṭa* 'forehead': *kūṭa* 'hammer' :: *kišku* 'forearm': *kišku* 'handle' (helve of an axe).

tābhīr (i. e. *upasadbhīr*) *dhunute*; Kāuç. Up. i. 4 *tat sukrtaduskrte dhunute* [B. C. E. *dhunvate*], which the commentator illustrates by the simile *açva iva romāñi kampanena*, evidently with reference to Chānd. Up. viii. 13. 1 *açva iva romāñi vidhūya pāpam candra iva rahor mukhāt pramucya dhūtvā çarīram etc.*

8. I have retained the strange *apocchantī* (1.4 *vas + apa*) *pakṣa*, but I am unable to explain the feminine form of the prior member.

9. This paragraph and the next chapter have parallels in JB. i. 18 (which is useful in constituting the text) and Kauṣ. Up. 1. 2 (on which cf. Boehtingk, *Ber. d. Königl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, xlvi. (1890) p. 198–204; Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's* (1897), p. xiv and 24; Boehtingk, *Ber. d. Königl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, 1897, p. 98).

Before taking up single points I give the parallel passage JB. i. 18, adding for the sake of connection, the preceding seventeenth chapter.

JB. i. 17. 1. *dve ha vāvā yonī¹ devayonir hāi 'vā 'nyā manusyayonir anyā dvā u hāi 'va lokāu² devaloko hāi 'vā 'nyo manusyaloko 'nyāḥ.* 2. *sā yā manusyayonir manusyaloka eva sa tat³ striyāi prajana-nam ato 'dhī⁴ prajāḥ prajāyante.* 3. *tasmād u kalyāñīm⁵ jāyām iccheta kalyāñō⁶ ma ātmā sambhavād iti.* 4. *tasya vāi sambhavisyataḥ prāṇā agre⁷ praviçanty atha retas sicyate. sa imān prāṇān¹⁰ ākācān abhinivartate tasmād u samānasayāi 'va retasas sato yādṛçā eva bhavati tādṛço jāyate.* 5. *tathāi sā devayonir devalokah yad āhavanīya eṣā ha¹¹ vāi¹² devayonir devalokah.* 6. *sa yaj juhoti yas sādhu karoty etasyām evāi 'tad devayonāv ātmānaṁ siñcati so 'syā 'tmā 'muṣminn āditye sambhavati sa hāi 'vāh vidvān dvijātmā dvijyonir ekātmā hāi 'vāi 'kayonir etad avidvān.* 7. *sa yasmād lokād evāñvit prāiti—*

i. 18. 1. *tasya prāṇāḥ prathama utkrāmati. sa hāi 'vā¹³ devebhyā ācaṣṭā¹⁶ iyad asya sādhu kṛtam iyat pāpam iti. atha hā 'yāṁ dhumena saho "rdhva utkrāmati.* 2. *tasya hāi 'tasya rtavo dvāra-pās tebhyo hāi 'tena prabruvīta.*

vicakṣanād rtavo reta ābhṛtam
ardhamāsyām¹⁷ prasutāt¹⁸ pitryāvataḥ.
tam mā puṁsi kartary erayadhvam¹⁹
puṁsalī kartur²⁰ mātary āsiśikta²¹
sa upajāyā²² upajāyamāno
dvādaçena trayodaçopomāsaḥ.

¹ -i. ² B. C. -e. ³ A. *tatañ*; B. C. *tañ*. ⁴ A. inserts *ka*; B. *kaḥ*.

⁵ A. *ka* (lacuna) *ñīm*. ⁶ -e. ⁷ B. *sambharāghād*. ⁸ A. -añ.

⁹ All MSS. have the sandhi *prāṇā 'gre*. ¹⁰ A. *prākā*. ¹¹ A. B. *bha*.

¹² A. B. *ve*. ¹³ B. C. *arku*. ¹⁴ B. 'ran.

¹⁵ For *hāi 'vā* A. B. have *he yatta*; C. *hāi dvā*. ¹⁶ A. *kucaṣṭa*.

¹⁷ A. *addhamāsañ*; B. C. *arḍhyamāsañ*. ¹⁸ C. -sūt-; B. -tāva.

¹⁹ A. *or-*. ²⁰ All MSS. *karttar*. ²¹ B. C. -tas.

²² The sandhi in all MSS. is -jāyo 'pa-.

sam¹ tad vide. prati tad vide. hanta hā "gatam² ma³ rtavo 'mṛtam⁴ ānayadhvam iti. 3. *tam ha rtava ānayante yathā vidvān avidvānsam⁵ yathā jānann⁶ ajānantam⁷ evam̄ hāi 'nam rtava ānayante. tam hā 'tyarjayante.⁸ 4. sa hāi 'tam āgacchatī tapan-tam. 5. tam⁹ hā "gatam̄ prechati kas tvam asi 'ti. sa yo ha nāmnā vā gotrena vā prabruṭe tam hā "ha yas te 'yam mayy ātmā 'bhūd esa te sa iti. 6. tasmin hā "tman pratipattam rtavas¹⁰ sam-palāyya padgr̄hitam apakarsanti. tasya hā 'horātre lokam āpnutah. 7. tasmā u hāi 'tena prabruvīta¹¹ ko 'ham asmi suvas tvam. sa tvām̄ svargyaṁ svar agām iti. 8. ko ha vāi pra{jā}patir atha hāi 'vāñvid eva suvargah. sa hi suvar gacchati. 9. tam hā "ha yas tvam asi so 'ham asmi yo 'ham asmi sa tvam asy ehi 'ti. 10. sa etam eva sukrtarasam¹² apyeti. tasya putrā dāyam upayanti pitaras sādhukṛtyām. sa hāi 'vāñ vidvān dvyātmā dvidāya ekāt-mā hāi 'vāi 'kadāya etad avidvān agnihotraṇi juhoti.*

17. 1. “Verily there are two wombs, the one the divine womb, the other the human womb; and, indeed, there are two worlds also, the one the divine world, the other the human world. 2. What this human womb is, that is the human world. That is the secret part of woman; from thence progeny is born. 3. Therefore one should desire an excellent wife [thinking :] ‘Let an excellent (second) self of me come into existence.’ And therefore one should seek to guard¹³ one’s wife [thinking :] ‘Lest in my womb, in my world another (self) come into existence.’ 4. Verily of him being about to come into existence the breaths enter first; then the seed is emitted. He returns these breaths (to the?) spaces; and therefore of its being similar seed, whichever kind it (the seed) may be, such a one is born. 5. Thus also this divine womb is the divine world. What the āhavaniya [-fire] is, that indeed is the divine womb, the divine world. Therefore who should make oblation in the gārhatyā [-fire], of him they would think: ‘He maketh him there.’ 6. In that he makes oblation, in that he does good, he thereby emits the self into this divine womb. That self of his comes into existence in yonder sun. He knowing thus has two selves, two wombs; verily one self, one womb has he who does not know this. 7. If from this world one knowing thus departs—

18. 1. —his breath goes up first. That explains to the gods: so much good was done by him, so much evil. Then along with the

¹ All MSS. *saman*.

² B.C. only *m.*

³ All MSS. *mā*; C. inserts 'dyā. ⁴ A.B. *mṛta*. ⁵ All MSS. *vid-*.

⁶ A. *janaṇ*; B.C. -n. ⁷ So A; B.C. *jan-*.

⁸ A. *tyajajayantes*; C. *tysarjjayante*.

⁹ For the next few lines C. is utterly corrupt and I have not noted the var. lect. (cf. JAOS. xvi. 239).

¹⁰ A. *tavas*. ¹¹ A. *-brav-*. ¹² A. *samk-*.

¹³ The usual meaning of the desiderative of *gup*, viz., ‘avoid,’ does not fit here.

smoke he goes up. 2. Of this same one the seasons are door-keepers. To them he should make answer thus : ‘O Seasons, from the illustrious one seed hath been brought hither, the half-monthly (seed) from the begotten one, from him who is connected with the Fathers. Make me, as such, arise in a man as the maker. From the man as the maker pour (me) into the mother. As such am I reborn, being born anew, through the twelvefold one as the thirteenth, intercalary month. Of this am I aware ; this have I ascertained. Come, ye seasons, lead me the immortal who have come.’ 3. Him the seasons lead. As one who knows one who does not know, as one who understands one who does not understand even so the seasons lead him. They bring him across. 4. He approaches him who burns. 5. Him¹, having come, he asks : ‘Who art thou ?’ When he announces himself either by his [personal] name or by his family [name], he says to him : ‘This self of thee that hath been in me that same is thine.’ 6. Him having hastened into this self, when² about to escape the seasons grasping his foot, drag away. Of him day and night obtain the world. 7. To him he should make answer thus : ‘Who (*ka*) am I, heaven art thou. As such I have gone to thee, the heavenly heaven.’ 8. Verily Prajāpati is who (*ka*), and he who knows thus is heaven-going. For he goes to heaven. 9. He says to him : ‘Who thou art, that one am I ; who I am, that one art thou ; come !’ 10. He approaches this sap of good deeds. His sons enter upon the inheritance, the Fathers upon good conduct. One knowing thus offers the agnihotra having two selves, two inheritances ; he who does not know thus (offers it) having one self, one inheritance.”

I now proceed to take up single points in order.

JB. 1. 49. 9. The conjecture *r̥tūnām* is based on the vocatives and nominative *r̥tavah* which follow in 50. 1, 2. and JB. i. 18. 2 *r̥tavo dvārapāh*.

50. 1. In constituting the text of the stanza I have kept as closely as possible to the MS. reading. Accordingly *ardhamāsyam*³ in verse 2 must be taken as qualifying *retas* ; the Kāuṣ. Up. has *pañcadaçāt* instead.—*prasutāt* is taken in the active sense (“zeugend”) by Boehtlingk, for which A.V. xii. 1. 62 is cited in PW. Though the active seems to be favored in this latter passage by the context, Bloomfield translates it there as past ptcp. The passage here is too obscure to admit of a definite conclusion. There may be a pun between *vsu* ‘press’ and *vsu* ‘beget.’—*vicaksana* as epithet of the soma is common in RV. The explanation of the Brāhmaṇa does not favor Deussen’s interpretation of *pitrivāvataḥ* as neuter sing.—In verse 3 Deussen conjectures *āirayadhvam*, but the context seems to

¹ §§ 5 ff. are identical with JUB. iii. 14. 1 (cf. JAOS. xvi. 173 and 239).

² Cf. Roth’s emendation of JUB. iii. 14. 2 in the Proceedings of April 1895 (= Journal xvii. p. ccxlivi).

³ *sy* from *s* is a very slight change in this alphabet.

me to favor imperatives.—In verse 4 Kauṣ. Up. reads *pumṣā kartrā*.—I have hesitatingly accepted the reading *āsiṣikta*. If this reading is correct, it might be taken as a perfect imperative (Whitney, § 813), or as an imperative of a reduplicated aorist without thematic vowel (Whitney, § 867) and with irregular reduplication after analogy of the reduplicating presents: for the grammarians demand *āsiṣicat* (Whitney, Verb-Forms *vsic.*)¹ The sandhi at 50. 1 and the reading of B.C. at 18. 2 (-tas) pointing to a past ptc. (in which case a change to *mātary* (read -i) *āsiktaḥ* becomes necessary) may be merely an attempt to correct an unintelligible form.—By reading *upajāya* in verse 5 for *jāya* of the Kāuṣ. Up. the metre is restored.—In verse 6 even the two JB. versions differ, the one reading *trayodaçena dvādaçopamāsaḥ*, the other *dvādaçena trayodaçopamāsaḥ*, while Kāuṣ. Up. has *dvādaçatrayodaça upamāso²* *dvādaçatrayodaçena pitrā*. The first reading seems to me the easiest, viz. ‘I come into existence through (the year of) thirteen months as the (intercalary) month added to the twelfth (month).’—*sām tad vide* etc. bears out one of the most brilliant emendations of Boehthingk.

2. The change to *avidvānsam* and *ajānantam* seemed to be demanded by the sense.

3. *manojavasah* i. e. *Yamasya*, as at VS. v. 11 *manojavās tvā pitṛbhīr dakṣiṇataḥ pātu* with the Commentator.

5. Cf. Journal, xviii. 46; no. xi. 1. for a parallel passage from the Cātyāyana Brāhmaṇa.

III. Indrasya kilbiṣāṇi.

§ 1. When Indra, in consequence of the guilt incurred through the murder of Viçvarūpa and Vṛtra, has fled from heaven, the gods choose Nahuṣa as Indra’s successor. But intoxicated with his newly acquired power, the latter gives himself up to carnal pleasures, and even lusts after Indra’s wife Çacī. And when the gods attempt to dissuade him from his evil plans by expatiating on the sinfulness of his acts, he justifies himself by a reference to Indra’s record (MBh. v. 11. 4 ff.):

evam ukto na jagrāha tad vacah kāmamohitah.
atha devān uvāce 'dam indram prati surādhipaḥ:
ahalyā dharśitā pūrvam ṛṣipatnī yaçasvinī
jīvato bhartur indrena. sa vah kim na nivāritah.
bahūni ca nr̄gañśāni kṛtāni 'ndrena vāi purā
vāidharmyāny upadhāc cā'va. sa vah kim na nivāritah.

“Thus addressed (by the gods), he, blinded by passion, did not take to heart their words. But the great lord of the gods spoke

¹ Deussen takes it as indicat. of the aorist, changing to *āsiṣikta*.

² Var. lect. *dvādaçatrayodaço māso*.

thus to the gods with reference to Indra : ‘While her husband was yet alive, Ahalyā the renowned wife of a ṛṣi, was formerly ravished by Indra. Why did you not restrain him ? And many deeds were formerly committed by Indra, harmful to men and unrighteous, besides deceitful tricks. Why did you not restrain him ?’” Again MBh. xiii. 40f. relates at great length the precautions which the ṛṣi Devaçarman must take in order to protect during his absence his wife Ruci against Indra, *puraṁdaram ca jānīte parastrikāmacārīnam*; and Devaçarman’s faithful pupil Vipula taunts Indra (41. 20) in the most scathing terms with his former experience when he suffered for a similar attempt on Ahalyā. Similar references to Indra’s immorality are not rare in the epic (cf. Holtzmann, ZDMG. xxxii. 293 f.). Nor must these traits in Indra’s character be regarded as late developments of a degenerating mythology. There is ample proof that they go back to the Brāhmaṇa period, and evidence that they antedate even this. If the Vedic hymns offer but little material of this kind, this fact is simply due to the character of these poems. They are invocations and songs of praise—*nah̄t nv ḏsyā mahi-mānam indriyām svār gr̄ṇānta ānaçūḥ* (RV. viii. 3. 13)—in which allusions of this sort would be manifestly out of place. An argumentum ex silentio would therefore here be patently wrong.¹ Although Bharadvāja calls Indra *ādroghavāca* (RV. vi. 22. 2), the Vedic poets were certainly not ignorant of such examples of Indra’s bad faith as Ludwig² and Bloomfield³ have collected. It seems evident that such legends as these form the background for an occasional general allusion to Indra’s fickleness like RV. vi. 47. 16 ; 17 . . . *anyám-anyam atinenīyámānah . . . párā párvesām sakhyā vṛṇakti vitárturáno áparebhir eti*,⁴ “wont

¹ The very fact that the hymns so frequently mention Indra’s indulgence in soma (e. g. RV. vii. 22. 2, *yás te mādo yújyaç cārur ñsti yéna vr̄trāñi haryaçva háñsi sá tvām indra prabhūvaso mamattu* ; viii. 32. 28, *yó viçvāny abhi vratā sómasya māde ándhasah indro devēsu cetati* ; viii. 15. 4, *tám te mādañi gr̄ṇīmasi*, etc.) is to my mind conclusive evidence that it was not regarded by the poets as ‘drunkenness,’ or in any way blameworthy, *māde hí smā dādāti nañ* (RV. viii. 1. 21).

² Commentary, vol. vi, p. 202, s. v. ‘wortbruch Indra’s’ and ‘adroha.’

³ Bloomfield, JAOS. xv. 161, AJPh. xvii. 433, and Atharva Translation, SBE. xlii. 522.

⁴ Cf. the close parallel in Goethe’s Iphigenie, vss. 1754 ff., Es wenden die Herrscher | Ihr ségnendes Auge | Von ganzen Geschlechtern | Und meiden im Enkel | Die eh’mals geliebten | Still redenden Züge | Des Ahnherrn zu sehn.

to help on now the one now the other . . . he turneth away from his old friends and, changing,¹ goeth with new ones."

On the other hand Indra's sensuality is amply exemplified in the legend of Dirghajihvi (MS. iii. 10. 6; AB. ii. 22. 10; TMB. xiii. 6. 9, 10; JB. i. 161-163; Schol. to Pāṇini iv. 1. 59),² and the similar story at KB. xxiii. 4 with its parallel Kāth. xiii. 5 (Weber, *Ind. Stud.* iii. 479 note; v. 453), which latter is connected by Weber (*Ind. Stud.* v. 249) and Bloomfield (SBE. xlvi. 547) with AV. vii. 38. 2. The antiquity of the Ahalyā story (of which the epic is so fond) is assured by the reference to it in the *subrahmanyā* formula.³ Equally old is the motif of Kāth. xiii. 5. As Indra there lives disguised as a woman among the Asurīs, so he lives in female shape in Vṛṣaṇaçva's family (cf. JAOS. xviii. p. 34). In the Rigveda itself Indra's epithet *sáhasramuska* clearly belongs here, and is illustrated by Sāyana (on RV. vi. 46. 3)⁴ by this citation from the Kāusītakins: 'yāñ kāñ ca striyāñ sāñbhavann indro bhogalolupatayā svācarire parvāñi-parvāñi
çephāñ sasarja.'⁵

§ 2. Aside however from these and other occasional references, there are in the Brāhmaṇas a number of parallel passages in which a formal indictment, as it were, is drawn up against Indra. The type of these is AB. vii. 28, *yatre 'ndram devatāḥ paryavr̥ñjan*
vīśvarūpaṁ tvāśṭrum abhyamañsta vr̥tram aśṭra
yatīn sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prādād arurmaghān avadhīd
bṛhaspateḥ pratyavadhīd iti tatre 'ndraḥ somapithena
vyārdhyata, etc.; "When the gods shunned Indra, saying: 'He hath intrigued against Viśvarūpa, Tvaṣṭṛ's son; he hath slain Vṛtra; he hath given the Yatis to the sālāvṛka-wolves; he hath killed the Arurmaghas; he hath interrupted Bṛhaspati,' then was Indra excluded from the soma-draught." A similar list of misdeeds is boastingly enumerated by Indra himself at Kāus. Up. iii. 1, *triçīrṣāñam tvāśṭram ahanam arunmukhān yatīn sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prāyaccham bahvīḥ sañdhā atikramya divi prahlādiyān*

¹ *vitārturāṇah* = *vitarturám*, RV. i. 102. 2.

² A fuller treatment of this will appear elsewhere.

³ Cf. Weber, *Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akad.*, 1887, ii. p. 903 f.; and the JB. text published in this Journal, vol. xviii. p. 34 ff.

⁴ At RV. viii. 19. 32 he takes *muṣkāni* = *tejānsi*, but apparently for no other reason than that the epithet there appears in an Agni-hymn.

⁵ Cf. also Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* ii. 38 (on RV. x. 86. 9) on Indra's marital relations.

*atr̄nam aham antarikse pāulomān prthivyām kālakāñjān;*¹ “I killed the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭṛ; I gave the Arunmukhas, the Yatis to the sālāvṛka-wolves; transgressing many a covenant I smote in heaven the Prahlādiyas, in the atmosphere the Pāulomas, on earth the Kālakāñjas”; and at least two counts are given in Čāṅkh. QS. xiv. 50. 1-2, *indro vāi triçīrṣānam tvāṣṭram ahanat arunmukhān yatin sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prāyacchat tam sarvāṇī bhūtāṇy abhyakrogaṇ;* “Indra killed the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭṛ, he gave the Arunmukhas, the Yatis to the sālāvṛka-wolves. At him all creatures were wroth.”

To these must now be added the chapters from the JB. which I subjoin.

JB. ii. 134 *indram vāi bhūtāni paryacakṣata triçīrṣānam² tvāṣṭram avadhīd yatin sālāvṛkebhyaḥ³ prādād arurmukhān⁴ avadhīd bṛhaspateḥ pratyavadhīt saṁdhānī saṁhitāt atītya namucer āsurasya cīraḥ prāchātiśīd iti. etebhyo devakilbiṣeḥhyas⁵ sa hā'raṇya eva cacārā' nabhyavayan devān. sa u ha devān uvāca yājayata me'ti. ne'ti ho'cur etā vāi tvāyā saṁdhā atītā etāni devakilbiṣāṇī⁶ kṛtāni na tvā yājayisymā iti. atho' hā' syā' gnir eva sakhitama⁷ ivā "sa. deveṣu sa u hā'gnim uvāca tvam mā yājaye'ti. tathe'ti ho'vāca sa vāi nu tam deveṣv icchāmi⁸ yena tvā saha yājayeyam iti. sa ha tam deveṣu na viveda yenāi'nam sahā'yājayisyat. sa ho'vāca na⁹ vāi nu¹⁰ tam deveṣu vindāmi yena tvā saha yājayeyam iti. tam vāi mā tvam eva yājaye'ti. tathe'ti. so'gnir¹¹ ātmanāi' vā'rdhyata.¹² tam agniṣṭutam atanuta. tenāi'nam ayājayat. tasya sadyas sarvām pāpmānam¹⁴ nirdahat. sa yathā'hir ahicchavyāi nirmucyeta yathā muñjād¹⁵ iṣīkām¹⁶ vivṛhēd evam eva sarvasmāt pāpmāno niramucyata. sa eso'pahatapāpmā tapaty esa ha vā'ndrah.¹⁷ sa ya uktoktas¹⁸ syād yo'bhyākhyāyeta sa etena yajeta. sadyo¹⁹ hā'i' vā' sya sarvam pāpmānam²⁰ nirdahati²¹ sa yathā'hir ahicchavyāi nirmucyeta yathā muñjād iṣīkām vivṛhēd evam eva sarvasmāt pāpmāno nirmucyate.*

¹ B. C. and Sāyaṇa on RV. v. 34. 4 *kālakāñjyān*; D. *kālakāñjān*; F. *kālakāñjān*.

² All MSS. -cīṣnānam. ³ D. *sāl-*. ⁴ A. *arūrjakhān*. ⁵ All MSS. -*kitbiṣ-*.

⁶ All MSS. -*kitb-*; D. -*bisṇā-*. ⁷ D. -*ā-*. ⁸ A. -*ta*. ⁹ A. *acha*. ¹⁰ A. *ra*.

¹¹ A. *na*. ¹² A. D. -*im*; H. -*ir*. ¹³ A. ātmana evā ddhetā; D. H. *atmana evā ddhyeta*. ¹⁴ A. -*pmān-*. ¹⁵ A. *mañ-*. ¹⁶ A. *irṣvamkāma*.

¹⁷ A. *rnāndras*. ¹⁸ A. *uttottara*. ¹⁹ All insert *ha*.

²⁰ D. *pāpmānagniñ*; hence possibly *pāpmānam agnir* should be read.

²¹ All *nidadhā*.

"The creatures condemned Indra, saying: 'He hath killed the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭar, he hath given the Yatis to the sālāvṛka-wolves, he hath killed the Arurmukhas, he hath interrupted¹ Bṛhaspati, transgressing the covenant he had covenanted he cut off the head of the Asura Namuci.' From these sins against the gods he walked away into the forest not descending (?)² to the gods. He said to the gods: 'Perform a sacrifice for me.' 'No,' they said, 'these agreements thou hast transgressed, thou hast committed those sins against the gods. We will not perform a sacrifice for thee.' Now, Agni might have been called his best friend; so among the gods he spoke to Agni: 'Sacrifice for me.' 'Yes,' he said, 'but I desire some one among the gods with whom I may sacrifice for thee.' He did not find any one among the gods with whom he might have sacrificed for him. He said: 'I cannot find any one among the gods with whom I might sacrifice for thee.' 'Then do thou alone sacrifice for me.' 'Yes.' Agni by himself succeeded. He performed this *agnistut*. With that he sacrificed for him. With it he at once burnt away all his (Indra's) evil. As a serpent would get rid of its skin, as one would pull the blade of the reed-grass out of the sheath, even so he got rid of all his evil.³ He burns having cast off all evil. For this is Indra. If one should be much talked about,⁴ if they should reproach him, he should sacrifice with this (*agnistut*). At once he burns off all his evil. As a serpent would get rid of its skin, as one would pull a blade of reed-grass out of the sheath, even so he gets rid of all evil."

Probably Sāyaṇa is quite right in connecting RV. v. 34. 4,

¹ *bṛhaspater avadhīt* = *bṛhaspater vācam avadhīt*, cf. AB. vi. 33. 4, also *'bhūr yo me vācam avadhīḥ*. The Commentator on AB. vii. 28 glosses: *svaguror bṛhaspater vākyam svakīyena vākyena pratyavadhīt. so 'yam pratighāto na yuktah tathā cā 'pastambah smarati: vākyena vākyasya pratighātam ācāryasya varjayec chreyasām ce 'ti.* It is 'interrupt' rather than 'contradict.'

² Professor Bloomfield suggests *anubhāvayan* as a possible conjecture.

³ For the comparisons cf. JB. 1. 9, *sa yathā 'hir ahicchavyāi nirmucyeta yathā muñjād iṣikāṁ vivṛhet evam eva sarvasmāt pāpmāno nirmucyate ya evam vidvā agnihotram juhoti*; Kāth. Up. ii. 6. 17, *aṅguṣṭamātrah puruṣo 'ntarātmā | sadā janānām hṛdaye saṁnivistāḥ | tam svāc charīrāt pravṛhet | muñjād ive 'śikāṁ dhāiryena*; BAU (ed. Böhtlingk) iv. 4. 10, *tad yathā 'hinirvlayani valmike mrtā pratyastā çayitāvam eve 'dam çarirām çete* (= CB. xiv. 7. 2. 10).

⁴ *vac* in the bad sense of *nid*, cf. RV. vii. 31. 5, *mā no nidē ca vāktave 'ryō randhīr árāvne.*

yásyā 'vadhīt pitáram yásya mātáram
yásya cakró bhrātaram nā 'ta ḫsate
vēti 'd v asya práyatā yataṁkarō
ná kílbisād ḫsate vásva ākarāḥ,

with the Brāhmaṇa stories just quoted. The thought is clear : The Valiant One does not flee even from him whose father or mother or brother he has slain ; even of one thus offended he demands offerings ; nay even from guilt does the Collector of Wealth not shrink. Sāyaṇa glosses : *kilbiṣāt pitrādīvadhayuk-tān¹* ne "ṣate na calati na bibheti vā. *indrasyā 'stotṛṇām* hatir *indro yatīn sālāvṛkebhyaḥ* prāyacchad antarikṣe² pāulomān pr̄thivyān kālakāñjyān arunmukhān yatīn sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prāyaccham ityādi grutiṣu prasiddhā.

§ 3. Of the legends referred to in the above indictment, that of the Yatis is frequently and variously related in the Brāhmaṇas. Most of the passages have already been collected by Weber in his note on AV. ii. 27. 5 (*Ind. Stud.* xiii. 191) viz. AB. vii. 28 ; TS. vi. 2. 7. 5 ; TMB. viii. 1. 4 ; xiii. 4. 16 ; xiv. 11. 28 ; xviii. 1. 9 ; xix. 4. 7 ; Kāṭh. viii. 5 ; xi. 10 ; xxv. 6 ; xxxvi. 7 (in *Ind. Stud.* iii. 465) Cāñkh. CS. xiv. 50. 2. To these may be added TS. ii. 4. 9. 2 ; MS. i. 10. 12, p. 152; and JB. i. 185 which runs as follows :

*trāikakubham annādyakāmāḥ kurvīta. indro yatīn sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prāyacchat.³ teṣām⁴ adyamānānām trayah kumārāḥ⁵ pary-
acisyantra rāyovājāḥ pr̄thuraçmi⁶ bṛhadgiriḥ. ta⁷ indram astuvan.
tān⁸ abravīt kirikāmā mā kumārāś stuthe⁹ 'ti.¹⁰ bibhṛhy eva no
maghavann¹¹ ity abruvan. tān antarā 'nṣayor¹² adhyāsyata. tā asya
tisraḥ kakubho 'lambanta. ime vāi lokāś saha santas tredhā
vyāyan.¹³ tāns tredhā¹⁴ 'nnādyam anuvyāit. ta u esām trayānām
lokānām tisraḥ¹⁵ kakubho 'nnādyam¹⁶ alambanta.¹⁷ sa āikṣatāi¹⁸
'ṣām ced vāi trayānām lokānām tisraḥ kakubho 'nnādyam¹⁹ ava-
rundhīya²⁰ tene 'mās tisraḥ kakubho 'pahareye²¹ 'ti. sa²² etat . . .*

¹ Cf. RV. iv. 18. 12, *kás te mātāram vidhāvām acakrat*; Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* ii. 51.

² He quotes here (evidently from memory, hence the transposition) the passage Kāuṣ. Up. iii. 1.

³ C. prāccīṣā. ⁴ C. om. ⁵ C. kām-. ⁶ A. prathuraçmi ; C. prathar-açmi. ⁷ A. tār. ⁸ C. stuṣetharī. ⁹ C. mavya-. ¹⁰ C. 'mṣayor.

¹¹ A. vāyañs. ¹² A. tresā ; C. tredhāyā. ¹³ C. om. ¹⁴ C. 'nnādyakāmam.

¹⁵ A. avālamb-. ¹⁶ C. āikṛte. ¹⁷ A. avāruṇḍha. ¹⁸ A. avāharata.

¹⁹ This whole sentence to 'pāharata is wanting in A.

çyaktenā¹ 'stuta tenā² 'sām trayānām lokānām tisrah kakubho 'nnādyam avārundhata³ tene⁴ 'mās tisrah kakubho 'pāharata.⁴ tad yad esām trayānām lokānām tisrah kakubho 'nnādyam avārundhata⁵ [tat] trāikakubhasya trāikakubhatvam.⁶ tad etad annādyasyā 'varuddhisāma.⁷ avā 'nnādyam runddhe⁸ 'nnādyagreṣṭhas svānām bhavati ya evān veda.

186. āindriyam vā etat sāma. āindratrecaḥ.⁹ āindrasāma.¹⁰ indra iti nidhanām bhavati. trīṇi puruṣa¹¹ indriyāṇy ātmā prajāḥ paçavāḥ. tāny evāi 'tenā 'tman¹² parigṛhṇīte. tān abravīt kiṁkāmo vā¹³ ekaḥ kiṁkāma ekaḥ¹⁴ kiṁkāma¹⁴ eka¹⁴ iti. so 'bravīd rāyovājaḥ paçukāmo¹⁵ 'ham asmī 'ti. tasmāi ilām prāyacchat. paçavo vā ilā. athā 'bravīt prthuraçmiḥ kṣatrakāmo 'ham asmī 'ti. tasmāi kṣatram¹⁶ prāyacchat. sa eva pṛthūr¹⁷ vāinyah. athā 'bravīd bṛhadgirir¹⁸ annādyakāmo 'ham asmī 'ti. tasmāi atha kāmam prāyacchat.

"He who desires food should use the *trāikakubha-sāman*. Indra gave the Yatis over to the sālavṛka-wolves. While they were being eaten, three boys were left, Rāyovāja, Prthuraçmi, and Bṛhadgiri. They praised Indra. He said to them : 'With what wish, O boys, do you praise me ?' 'Support us, O Bounteous one,' they said. He threw them over his shoulders. They clung to his three points.¹⁹ Verily these worlds which had been together separated in three parts. In connection with these [worlds] food also separated in three parts. And they clung to the three points of these worlds, to food. He considered : 'If I should obtain the three points of these three worlds, food, I should thereby carry off these three points.' He thus praised with the . . . *çyakta-[sāman]*. With it he obtained the three points of these three worlds, food ; with it he carried off these three points. Because he obtained the three points of these three worlds, food, that is the reason for calling it the *trāikakubha-[sāman]*. That same is the *sāman* for the obtainment of

¹ C. eta (space) *çyak-*. ² C. *avarundhīyate*. ³ C. *tenā*. ⁴ C. *harata*.

⁵ A. C. *avār-*. ⁶ C. *trekakubhahtvam*.

⁷ A. *varuddhissa-;* C. *varuñdhīsā-*. ⁸ A. *avarundhe*.

⁹ A. āindrīt iti ca; C. āindrīt̄recaḥ. ¹⁰ C. āindrām s-.

¹¹ C. *pūṣṭapuṣa*. ¹² A. *smātman*. ¹³ C. *vah*. ¹⁴ C. om. ¹⁵ A. *paçvak-*.

¹⁶ C. *kṣetra-*. ¹⁷ A. *prathar*; C. *prathur*. ¹⁸ C. -*giram*.

¹⁹ This, and what follows it not quite clear to me. The Commentator to TMB. viii. 1. 4. glosses the parallel passage by *svakakupsv adhini-dhāya*.

food. He obtains food, he excels his own (people) in food who knows thus.

186. And this *sāman* also pertains to the powers (*indriya*). It is Indra's triplet. It is Indra's *sāman*. Its *nidhana* is 'Indra.' There are three powers in man : the self, offspring, cattle. These same he thereby encompasses within himself. He said to them : 'What does the first wish ? what the second ? what the third ?' Rāyovāja said : 'I desire cattle.' He gave to him the *ilū*. For the *ilū* is cattle. Again Pṛthuraçmi said : 'I desire nobility.' He gave to him nobility. He is Pṛthu Vāinya. Again Bṛhadgiri said : 'I desire food.' He gave him his wish."

This is clearly an elaboration of the legend in TMB. xiii. 4, 16 (and also very briefly told at viii. 1. 4.), *indro yatīn sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prāyacchat. teṣāṁ trayā udācyisyanta pṛthuraçmir bṛhadgirī rāyovāyah. te 'bruvan ko na imān putrān bhariṣyatī 'ti. aham itī 'ndro 'bravīt. tān adhīnidhāya¹ paricāry acarad² vardhayāñs tān vardhayitvā 'bravīt kumārakā varān vrñidhvam iti. kṣatram mahyam ity abravīt pṛthuraçmih. tasmā etena pārthuraçmena³ kṣatram prāyacchat. kṣatrakāma etena⁴ stuvīta kṣatrasye 'vā 'sya prakāgo bhavati. brahmavarcasam mahyam ity abravīd bṛhadgirīh. tasmā etena bārhadgireṇa⁵ brahmavarcasam prāyacchat. brahmavarcasakāma etena stuvīta brahmavarcasī bhavati. paçūn mahyam ity abravīd rāyovāyah. tasmā etena rāyovāyahena⁶ paçūn prāyacchat. paçukāma etena stuvīta paçumān bhavati.*

The shorter passage (viii. 1. 4) introduces the story exactly like the longer versions just quoted. But after *aham itī 'ndro 'bravīt* it continues : *tāñs trikakub adhīnidhāyā 'carat. sa etat sāmā 'paçyat. yat trikakub apaçyat tasmāt trāikakubham.* The Commentator glosses : *trikakup* by *tryucchritapradeça āsan svakakupsv adhīnidhāya*; which is quite similar to Sāyaṇa's explanation of the same word at RV. i. 121. 4, *trikakup triṣu lokeṣu 'cchrita indrah*.⁵

¹ Commentary glosses *rathe āropya*; but it evidently corresponds to the *antarā 'nsayor adhyāsyata* of the JB. version.

² The text of the *Bibl. Indica* reads *paricāryy acaran*; but a 3d pers. sing. is wanted. Its force is that of an auxiliary with the participle following, cf. Delbrück, *Altind. Synt.* p. 390. The Comment. has : *vardhayān poṣayan, paryacaran (!) paricaryām kṛtāvān, evam vardhayitvā punar abravīt*; where *paryacaran* clearly stands for *-at*.

³ Comm. supplies *sāmnā*.

⁴ Comm. supplies *parthurāçmena brahmaśāmnā*.

⁵ Elsewhere he usually glosses *kakubh* by *diç*.